1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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of the goat killed at his wife's funeral. But sons inherit from their mother all but purely feminine forms of property, which pass to her daughters or to her sons' wives. Thus the eldest son inherits all cash left by his mother, and also all her debts, the husband not being held responsible for these. The son inherits her bean farm and passes it on to his wife. He also inherits her goats; but cooking utensils and feminine ornaments pass to her daughter, if she is old enough for marriage, or to her son's wives. 428

Birth and Marriage Ceremonies.—When a married woman conceives her first child the event is celebrated, four months after conception, by a feast provided by the husband, who invites all his own and his wife's relatives. Large quantities of beer are consumed and hopes are expressed that the woman will be safely delivered of a sturdy child. A leech is sometimes called in during pregnancy to administer medicine, but pregnancy does not involve a state of taboo and no religious rites are performed such as we find in the neighbouring tribe of the Berom, where the husband shaves the wife's head and leads her blindfold to the cave of the priest of Mbon. The Katab woman counts the months of her pregnancy by putting a circular dot of red earth on her thigh for the first month, two for the second, and so on. And so if you see a woman with five red dots on her legs or body you will know that she has been enceinte for five months. The husband keeps his own tally secretly, in case his wife runs off before she gives birth. 843 574 [171] [805]

The woman does not, as among most tribes, go to her mother's home to bear her first child; but after the confinement she takes her new-born babe to her own home and remains there for three or four months, the reason given being that she will be better cared for among her own people than in her husband's home. During the confinement she is attended by wives of her husband's father or brother, but modesty would forbid the presence of the husband's mother. She is delivered sitting on a stone or on the wooden tray on which she is accustomed to carry head loads. The tray thereafter bears a semi-sacred character and a Katab woman will often swear an oath on her tray saying: "If I did so-and-so may I die with my next child." Should the babe be dilatory in beginning to breathe, a hoe is beaten with a piece of iron to rouse its energy. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor at about an inch from the 844 [846] [778 482]

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727 The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje. But an agreement was finally reached between them that all heads taken should be returned. The mode of concluding peace between two tribes
728 was for two elders from each side to meet on the boundary, each with a human head taken from the other side. The two
793 heads were then buried together. The Magajin Elenowum was not merely the custodian of human heads, but of the heads of all
224 large animals killed by hunters. All quarry had to be brought to him and was cooked by him and distributed to the various families in proportion to their numbers. The term "elenowum" seems to mean "The boiler of Pots", and to have reference to his functions as the cook and distributor of game. It may be noted that, when anyone killed a leopard, rites somewhat similar to the head-hunting rites were performed. A feast was held, and the slayer had to receive protective medicines and sleep in the hut of the priest (Elenowum or Magajin Elenowum).

793 The Elenowum played a considerable part in the social life of the village. His person was sacrosanct, and in cases of disputes or ill-behaviour he would interfere, threatening with his curse those who refused to follow his advice. He could fine summarily anyone who committed an offence against religion, such as cutting down a tree in the sacred grove.

527 The Katab do not appear to have any rest day, but Sunday is in some respects regarded as a special day. The Katab Chief is installed on a Sunday, funeral feasts are begun on a Sunday, and Sunday is considered the best day for collecting medicines.
[823] Among the Kachichere a chief on appointment has to go into seclusion for seven days, beginning on a Sunday. One of the Kagoro hills was said to emit fire in bygone days every Friday and Sunday. The sacred character of Sunday among many Nigerian tribes does not appear to be due to any recent European
●778 influence. The sign of the cross is also common. The principal *obwai* hut of the Morwa has a black cross painted on the lintel of the door. The Chawai smear red crosses on certain of their sacred rocks, and it was said that the sign of the cross was
769 always smeared on the captured head of an enemy. It is interesting
782 to note that among the Chawai also a man who feels himself to be unlucky sacrifices a goat at the house of his dead father or grandfather and smears the blood on the lintel of the door.

753 *Medicine and Diseases.*—Illnesses and premature death are
754

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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765 *Mourning Customs.*—A widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one to two months (varying in accordance with the worldly status of the deceased husband). At the end of this period she is shaven and washed in the river by female relatives. If she is [587] still comparatively young she will have a suitor, and he will, at the conclusion of her mourning, present her with a goat, etc., that she may be able to provide a feast for friends and relatives. Males do not engage in mourning rites. If, therefore, a man loses his wife he summons a married sister to come and perform the rites on his behalf. She remains in seclusion during the period of mourning, and allows her hair to grow long. On the conclusion of the rites she returns to her husband's village.

613 622 648 *Government and Law.*—It may be surmised that, prior to the time when they came under the Habe of Zaria, the Katab tribe consisted of a number of unconsolidated groups without any central organization. Each group or sub-clan may have acknowledged the authority of its own Magajin Elenowum in things spiritual and temporal, but the existing system of sub-clan chiefs charged with executive and administrative powers seems to have been evolved in order to regulate the relations of the tribe with the Habe of Kauru, who had established their suzerainty over the Katab long before they themselves became subject to the Bornu-Fulani dynasty of Zaria at the beginning of last century.

648 622 554 778 The Hausa town of Zangon Katab was founded during the early Kauru régime as a caravanserai for Hausa traders, and as a base from which the Kauru chiefs could extract tribute from the Katab and exercise such administrative control as was necessary for this purpose. In the matter of tribute it would appear that the Kauru chiefs dealt direct with each village area, ignoring the clan organization. But for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty was sworn on the sacred sword which was a characteristic feature of the Zaria polity. Sacred swords were granted to chiefs of importance throughout the Zaria dominions and treated with the utmost awe by the recipients, who guarded them closely and sprinkled them regularly with the blood of a chicken or goat. Minor chiefs and village headmen were not granted a sword, but were sworn in on a sword specially

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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sent from Kauru for the purpose. The Katab headmen were treated in this way and, when a new headman was appointed, a messenger was sent from the chief of Kauru with the sword wrapped in a mat. The messenger was given numerous presents (a goat, bags of millet, salt, a dish of butter, and 10,000 cowries) and the ceremony of swearing-in was then performed. "Here is the sword," he said; "if you swear that you will do no mischief, and will hide nothing from us you will be established. But if you engage in intrigue this sword will kill you." The headman swore to be faithful for ever, and was then allowed a fleeting glance at the sword, the case being slightly opened. A feast was held, and the messenger returned to Kauru with the sword. The present district headman of the Katab area obtained two of these swords from Kauru and uses them in the same way to-day. He has issued one to each of the heads of the sub-clans, Aswen and Fakan, and these headmen use the swords for swearing in minor officials of the sub-clan. No village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword.

The sword shown to me was shaped thus, the handle having been injured :—

The length was about two feet. Numerous other chiefs of Nigerian tribes have sacred swords. Some are believed to have been brought from the Yemen by the forefathers of the chief. (But those examined were of Prussian manufacture.)

When the Bornu-Fulani dynasty displaced the Habe of Zaria, Kauru came under the new régime and the Katab continued to function as an appendage of Kauru. (Morwa, however, dealt

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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MORWA

one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
MORWA

any sacred place wearing a gown. The Morwa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab.

The priest plays a prominent part at the installation of the chief. He gives the chief a special draught to drink, and then ceremonially shaves and washes him, afterwards clothing him in a gown. The Morwa chief is, like his neighbours, the possessor of a sacred sword, the magical emblem. At the installation of a new chief the priest fetches the sword from the house of the late chief. It is carefully wrapped up and none may look on it except the priest and chief. The priest slays a goat and chicken (provided by the chief) and rubs the blood (mingled with water) on the sword, saying: "Sword I have brought you here that you may bless us. Let the chief and this town have prosperity and may no evil come, even to a child. For I perform the rites my father performed. Let not the chief die early, and may no sickness overtake him or his wives or his children." On each Friday for the first month or so of his reign, and at intervals throughout each year, the chief summons the priest to bring the sword. They drink some beer together, and then the priest removes some of the wrappings and shows a part of the knife to the chief, saying "Do you see the sword?" The chief replies, "I do and I rejoice." The priest then says, "Sword, let no evil come on the chief or his people or on any of our domestic animals. For I am of the ancient stock of this country, and these are the rites my forefathers performed."

A year after the installation the concluding rites are performed with feasting and sacrifice. The sword again plays a principal part, and the chief is then for the first time clothed in a black gown. Formerly he could only wear a white gown. The sword is a great asset to the chief; for, apart from the security which it confers on the owner, it is also a source of income. The possessors of minor titles believe that an occasional view of the sacred weapon will secure them also in their offices. They are permitted therefore to view the sword on payment of what must be, to them, a considerable sum.

The Morwa were head-hunters like their neighbours, and their rites were similar to those described in the Katab report. They did not take the heads of Katabs whom they killed, but they took their bodies home and buried them, and danced over the grave.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

graphy, who is apparently particular to the senior *kwai* (and lineage) in each village. On the other hand, the priestly titles of *tenci* (pl.? *tienci*) and *tu* (or *titu*) *obwai* pertain to every *kwai;* of these the *tienci* of a village are graded according to the seniority of their respective *kwai,* and the *tenci* of the *tienwhop's kwai* serves also as the *tenci* of the village; but the *obwai* priests appear to be essentially equals, though the position is not entirely clear. Each lineage of a *kwai* has a titled head (*niewhop*), and these heads, again, are graded according to seniority."[68]

The *tienwhop* appears to be a fertility priest, essentially, and the *tienci,* hunting priests, with a unique reciprocal relationship between the *tienwhop* and the village *tenci,* implied in Smith's account of their functions and dues. According to Smith, the *tienwhop* " performed the ritual (*ci*) for health and prosperity," for which grain was collected from Kpashan only by the senior resident Kpashan clan and given to the *tenci* of the community; the *tenci* was in charge of village hunting (and head-hunting) ritual, but the *tienwhop* received " one hind-leg of every dwarf buffalo slain in the area under his ritual control."[69]

Terminological confusion obscures the role of the *tienwhop* in the village court, but it appears that he presides over " the traditional village court of priests and elders " when the charge is " ritual " offence; otherwise, " the Village Chief " (*agwom,* presumably) exercises a *de facto* jurisdiction within his Village-area, particularly with regard to cases of paternity and secondary marriage. In the past, disputes between lineages were settled by the clan heads (*niewhop* and *tienci,* apparently), and when clans of a village clashed agreement might be reached between the clan heads concerned without mediation; similarly the *tienwhop* " terminated " feuds between villages and wars with neighbouring tribes.

Limited warfare was a condition between lineages, *kwai* (even of the same *bin*) and villages, before Administration. Disputes over economic trees are said to have been frequent. Boundary disputes were formerly among the chief occasions of inter-village fighting, and occurred in a context of mutual hostility, closely associated with wife-abduction, and with sympathetic relations between villages sharing hostility towards the same community. It is noteworthy that moiety affiliation plays no part in inter-community disputes of any kind. Possibly until Administration, disasters afflicting the whole tribe such as locusts, smallpox, etc., were occasions for the assembly of all adult males by the three *tienwhop* of Zafan, Mingio, and Atswan. According to Smith these three are generally conceded by Kagoro to be senior, though there is some disagreement as to which is paramount. It would appear, however, that in the only traditional tribe-wide institution of which any account is available at present, i.e., in the tribal hunting rites, Zafan occupies the supreme position.

Hunting is still an important source of meat as well as of prestige and is an activity of clan groups closely linked with ritual. Rights to hunt in clearly specified areas are the property of the clan of the man who first marked out the area publicly for hunting. With few exceptions these areas lie in the Village-area of the clan, have clearly known boundaries and names, and do not interfere with the rights of other persons to farm in the area. The Rock itself is the common hunting ground of the tribe and no clan hunting areas are found there.

The season is opened annually in January or December by the taking of auguries by the Kumat lineage of Mungwop clan from a sacred cave at the base of the Rock. After prayers and a ritual beer drink the day for starting the hunt is fixed. On the day appointed the *tenci* of Zafan sets fire to the Rock, and this is done by every village at the base in turn. Then all the males of each community move up the Rock behind the fire, shooting the animals. The Rock hunt is followed by

[68] Niewhop (niehwop?), rendered Meakwap by Temple, and translated " high priest." Smith's account of the *niewhop,* his precise rights and duties, and the relationship between the *niewhop* and *tienwhop* of a village is somewhat confusing. Reynolds' analysis of Kaje titles cognate with Kagoro may be examined to some advantage, farther below, p. 108.

[69] It is to be presumed that *tienwhop* and *tenci* of the village are invariably separate persons, but this is not explicitly stated.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka
Kaje

Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which a "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March)[105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wakili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

Kaje (Baju)[108]

Location: Population: Nomenclature

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

841 775 ripening a fowl is sacrificed and its blood, together with the leaves of the "Karran-Kwoi" and "tongwa," is put in a hole in the centre of the farm.

776 782 The spirits are subject to Gwaza, the supreme and beneficent god who helps the living against evil ghosts. In drought the people pray to him for rain, facing first to the south, and then to the other points of the compass. The priests kill a fowl and place its blood, with a few of its feathers, on a stone two feet high in the sacred grove (at times some of its flesh is added), gia is then thrown three times on each corner of the stone and three incantations are spoken. Gwaza is believed to consume the offering and the petition is always granted.

776 821 When the new moon rises the people pray to Gwaza for health and luck, and rejoice, but on this occasion no beer is drunk. They believe that the sun is a ball of fire, which falls into the water at night and becomes extinguished, but that it travels back to the east at night, at a higher level, and gets fresh fire from the supreme god. If a tree or house is set on fire by lightning the people must put out their old fires and kindle them afresh from this heavenly source.

761 The Kagoro believe that there is a stream dividing life from death, and that when a man falls sick his soul leaves his body and journeys to this stream, where the spirits of the dead, who are assembled on the further shore, decide whether he may cross the bridge. Sometimes the decision is so long delayed that the spirit shrinks, and when it returns to the body has lost its full command. A first husband and wife will always come to the brink of the stream to greet the other, and both parents will come to welcome an unmarried child.

774 The soul leaves the body during sleep, as is proved both by dreams and by the fact that a person suddenly awakened has not full command of his faculties, which shows that the soul has not had time to return to the body. It is possible that the wandering soul may be caught and beaten, or its bowels or liver taken to a magic cave in the grove by the souls of evil men, who devour it. These evil souls glow like fire, which light is visible to the priests alone. When summoned to the injured man the priest calls out several names and the afflicted recognises [754] that of his tormentor, who is summoned and shut into a room where a fire is burning, on which pepper is thrown, and there he [683] is left until he promises restitution. If he fails to keep his promise he is sold as a slave, or choked.

No inanimate object has a soul, but the souls of animals may be born into the children of their slayer—it is doubtful, however, whether they can leave the living body.

● 778 688 Women and children are not allowed near the sacred groves, nor may they speak of spirits under penalty of death.